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BLACK SHEEP EFFECT ON JUROR VERDICTS

Maryah E. Thompson 2018

COLUMBUS STATE UNIVERSITY

BLACK SHEEP EFFECT ON JUROR VERDICTS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE

HONORS COLLEGE

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE

REQUIREMENTS FOR HONORS IN THE DEGREE OF

BACHELOR OF SCIENCE

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

COLLEGE OF LETTERS AND SCIENCES

BY
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the Black Sheep Effect and how an individual's deviation (becoming a black sheep) from the in-group impacts the groups perception of the black sheep. Participants acted as mock jurors and chose a verdict for the defendant based on a vignette followed by a photo of the defendant. Race, the commonality shared between the defendants and mock jurors, acted as an automatic group divider. Participants analyzed were of either the same or different race from the defendants in the vignettes. One hundred and thirty individuals participated in the study, of which 66 were White and 45 were Black. A logistic regression showed an indication of the Black Sheep Effect among Black mock jurors and a strong guilt bias among White mock jurors. An ANOVA was used to understand the interaction between mock juror race and the verdicts delivered upon the defendants. However, mock jurors found their fairness and confidence in their verdicts to be high. This research will aid those in the legal system when considering implicit bias in the courtroom.

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Black Sheep Effect on Juror Verdicts

The Black Sheep Effect (BSE) is a phenomenon that occurs when a member of an ingroup (a category of individuals that share a commonality) deviates from the norms associated with that group (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988). As a result of this deviation, members of the in-group respond in a more severe manner when compared to the same action performed by a member of the out-group (Marques, et al., 1988). When an in-group member performs a positive action, it is viewed in a more positive manner than if it were performed by an out-group member (Marques, et al., 1988). The difference in reactions is due to the esteem associated with being a part of the in-group. If a member of the in-group deviates, they establish a negative perception of themselves and the in-group, resulting in their formation as a black sheep. This thesis will assess the impact a defendant (black sheep) of the same and opposite race as the mock juror (participant) has on the juror's verdict. In addition to the mock juror's verdict, the confidence and fairness of the juror's verdict will be assessed, which will allow for the evaluation of the mock jurors disapproval of the black sheep's deviation.

Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) serves as a base to BSE (Marques, Abrams, & Serôdio, 2001). SIT is the concept that individuals aspire towards a positive perception of themselves (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Rodriguez, 2013). This positive perception allows individuals to maintain their individuality and find a group of individuals who share characteristics and commonalities. Through these commonalities, individuals are able to join an in-group that fits them, thereby upholding the requirements of the in-group. The positive perception associated with the in-group is emphasized and differentiates them from out-groups.

According to Tajfel and Turner (1979) there are three stages that comprise SIT: categorization, identification, and comparison. Categorization involves the evaluation of an individual's environment. In a subconscious manner, individuals place people into categories in order to decipher the climate surrounding them. Furthermore, the presence of the out-group causes competition and leads to the in-group highlighting their differences with the out-group. This occurs at a fundamental level between two groups when no differences are present other than the presence of two different groups. Once an individual becomes a part of an in-group or once an in-group is established, bias and discrimination against out-groups become evident (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In-group preference does not always lead to out-group derogation, however, the enhancement of opposition between the in-groups and out-groups is automatic as opposed to uplifting or magnifying the features of the in-group.

The second stage of SIT is identification, which entails an individual finding a group that accepts and enhances their label. To clarify, a group is composed of individuals who label themselves in the same category, have emotional investments in the group, and have an agreed upon consensus of their group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The identity of the individual is molded from their own characteristics as well as those of the group they belong to. This permits an individual to have a place in society (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). It also allows groups to discern and identify things that differentiate them from other groups.

The third stage of SIT is comparison, which involves the analysis and judgment of ingroups and out-groups. The comparison of one's in-group to an out-group presents individuals with the ability to understand the position of their in-group. However, it also makes the norms of an in-group become more prominent, causing deviations to stand out and lead to consequences.

Consequences include expulsion from the group and issues concerning personal belonging

(Burnaford, 2012; McLeod, 2008; Rodriguez, 2013). In-groups do not seek or attempt to create comparisons with every out-group they encounter. Comparisons occur when a particular out-group has similar characteristics or attributes (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This relies on common qualities, closeness, and situational relevance. The goal of highlighting differences is to make one's in-group appear better and the out-group as inferior (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

SIT's fundamental premise allows the occurrence of BSE to be better understood. The combination of placing oneself and others into a group, labeling oneself in accordance with their group, and comparing their group to other groups is a natural phenomenon. As with all things in nature, discrepancies and deviations occur causing individuals to be withdrawn or removed from the group. These individuals then become a black sheep because their decisions did not align with those of their in-group.

Black Sheep Effect

The Black Sheep Effect impacts two parties, the black sheep (individual deviating from the groups norms) and the in-group the black sheep deviates from. The black sheep is affected because they become ostracized from the group (Marques, Paez, & Abrams, 1998; Burnaford, 2012). They are no longer a part of the in-group causing them to lose power, significance in something, and not feel a part of an entity larger than them (Abrams, Palmer, & Rutland, 2014). In children, consequences of not belonging to an in-group can range from depression, decreased academic performance, violence, withdrawal from school, and poor psychological coping skills (Newcomb, Bukowski, & Pattee, 1993; Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 1998; Abrams, Palmer, & Rutland, 2014). As a result of the black sheep's actions, the reputation of the in-group is impacted. In turn, the in-group attempts to avoid the repercussions of the deviation because of

the negative attention it brings (Crocker & Major, 1989; Appiah, Westerwick & Alter, 2013). For example, the media presents a biased view of Black people. Black people are depicted as criminals, impoverished, and associated with drugs (Dixon and Linz, 2000; Appiah et al., 2013). To counteract this negative association, Black people read more stories about Black characters and spend more time reading about negative stories concerning White people (Appiah et al., 2013). This elevates an individual's in-group by focusing on the positives and devaluing the outgroup. These findings focus on the positives of one's in-group and negatives of the out-group. When irregularities are present in an in-group, the individual will disidentify from the in-group to distance themselves from presented differences (Cameira & Ribeiro, 2014).

BSE can extend to racial identification when jurors of a particular race encounter defendants of the same or opposite race. If the defendant is of the same race as the juror, it is hypothesized that the juror will distance themselves and see the defendant as a black sheep due to their deviation from their racial group. If the defendant is a member of a different race, it is hypothesized that a more just and fair verdict will be assigned to the defendant because their deviance does not affect the juror's in-group.

Race

The more commonalities in-group members share, the more they will be viewed as a black sheep if they deviate from the norms (Santuzzi & Ruscher, 2006). The present study evaluated two races: Whites and Blacks, and how they reacted to individual's that deviated from their shared commonality of race. When the information against a defendant is small, the ingroup members will demonstrate favoritism and not deliver a harsh verdict. However, when the information against the defendant is strong, BSE will take effect and the jurors will deliver a

harsher verdict (Kerr, Hymes, Anderson, & Weathers, 1995). In accordance with Santuzzi and Ruscher (2006) it should be expected that the juror will reject the defendant due to the negative attention they bring to the in-group if the jurors find more similarities between themselves and the defendant. These similarities can include race, gender, nationality, occupation, ethnicity etc.

If defendants and jurors are of the same race, BSE will be exhibited and an unfair and yet confident verdict will be delivered. High confidence will be present because the in-group's perception of the consequences of the deviation are elevated due to the reputation of the ingroup. However, due to this biased perception of the deviation, an unfair verdict will be delivered. If the defendant and juror are of differing races, BSE will not be present, but a confident and fair verdict will be delivered. High confidence and fairness will be present because deviations of the out-group do not affect in-groups.

It also assessed the mock juriors' confidence and lateness of the verifict. An ANOVA was employed to understand the interaction between mock jurior exce and verifict delivered upon Mr. Miller and Mr. Jennings. Due to the racial demographics of CSU (approximately 55% White an 40% Black, 5% other), this experiment only used Black and White defendance in the accurring Materials.

vignette consisted of the description of the crime, and the defendant's argument, which include background information. Following the vignette was a photo of the defendant. Photos were retrieved from the International Affective Picture System (IAPS) to crusto normative stimuli

Method

One hundred and thirty individuals participated in the study. Of these, 111 were included in the study. Eighty-three mock jurors were female and 28 were male. Mock juror's data was discarded if they did not respond to all of the questions concerning the verdict, fairness, or confidence of the defendant. Mock juror information was also discarded if they failed to disclose their race or failed to agree to the informed consent. The experiment was conducted through SONA and administered to mock jurors through Qualtrics (Qualtrics, Provo, UT). Mock jurors in the study were comprised of Columbus State University (CSU) students 18 years of age and above. Upon beginning the online study, mock jurors were prompted to review the informed consent. Following completion of the survey, which took no more than 30 minutes, mock jurors were directed to a debriefing page which consisted of a limited explanation of the study.

Following the collection of data through Qualtrics, the data was exported and analyzed using JASP (2018). A logistic regression was used to analyze the verdict of guilty or not guilty. It also assessed the mock jurors' confidence and fairness of the verdict. An ANOVA was employed to understand the interaction between mock juror race and verdict delivered upon Mr. Miller and Mr. Jennings. Due to the racial demographics of CSU (approximately 55% White and 40% Black, 5% other), this experiment only used Black and White defendants in the scenarios.

Materials

Vignettes were created to frame the scenario of each defendant (Appendix A). The vignette consisted of the description of the crime, and the defendant's argument, which included background information. Following the vignette was a photo of the defendant. Photos were retrieved from the International Affective Picture System (IAPS) to ensure normative stimuli were presented to the mock jurors. In addition to these protocols, the name of the defendant was

manipulated depending on their race. For the White defendant, a stereotypical "White name" was used to allude to the notion of the defendant's race in addition to the photo. For the Black defendant, a stereotypical "Black name" was used to allude to the notion of the defendant's race in addition to the photo presented. Following the presentation of the vignette and photo, randomized questions prompted the participant to determine if the defendant was guilty or not, and to rate the fairness of their verdict on a Likert scale, as well as their confidence in their verdict on a Likert scale.

Results

Descriptives and Frequencies

One hundred and eleven individuals participated in the study. Sixty-six participants were White and 45 were Black. To ensure analysis could be conducted from the mock juror's responses, only data from Black and White jurors was used. This decision was applied due to the demographic composition of CSU.

Mock jurors indicated their level of confidence in the verdict they delivered upon the defendant. This variable allowed the impact of BSE to be better understood. On a scale of 1-7, 1 representing "not confident at all" and 7 representing "very confident", mock jurors rated the confidence in their verdict upon Mark Miller, p=. 919, and rated their confidence in Deshaun Jennings, p=. 896. The lack of significance present in the verdict confidence of Mr. Miller and Mr. Jennings indicate mock jurors displayed excessive confidence when delivering the verdict.

Mr. Jennings was convicted more by Black mock jurors than by White mock jurors (Table 4), which provides a basis for the BSE. Even though more Black mock jurors convicted Mr. Miller more than White mock jurors (Table 1 & 2), the large percentage of both groups indicates a guilt bias is present. Although a large majority, White mock jurors placed the smallest amount of convictions upon Mr. Jennings which demonstrates the workings of BSE in that deviations of an out-group member do not impact ones in-group (Table 3) thereby allowing a smaller conviction rate.

Logistic Regression

A logistic regression was conducted on the verdict of Mark Miller with covariates of confidence and fairness in the verdict present and the factor of the mock juror's racial identification. As displayed in Table 5, analysis indicated there was an effect between the mock

jurors race and their verdict decision, X^2 (2, 107)= 19.190, p < .001. These finding, combined with the presence of 80% of White participants finding Mr. Miller guilty, indicate a guilt bias is present, but not a clear BSE. A strong guilt bias is present because a large majority of White mock jurors found Mr. Miller guilty, however more Black mock jurors found Mr. Miller guilty, causing BSE to not occur.

A logistic regression was conducted on the verdict of Deshaun Jennings with covariates of confidence and fairness in the verdict present and the factor of the mock juror's racial identification. As displayed in Table 6, analysis indicated an effect between the mock jurors race and their verdict decision, X^2 (2, 107)= 9.728, p = .021. These findings, in addition to 82% of Black mock jurors finding Mr. Jennings guilty, indicate a BSE.

Further analysis was conducted following the logistic regression to understand the interaction between mock juror's fairness and the verdict they delivered upon the defendant based on their race. Mock jurors indicated their level of fairness of the verdict on a Likert scale, in which 1 represented "not fair at all" and 7 represented "very fair". No interaction was present between mock juror race and Mr. Millers verdict, F(2, 107) = 0.000022, p = .988. However, there was an interaction between mock juror race and the verdict of Mr. Jennings, F(2,107) = 3.422, p = .067. Although marginal, the findings for Mr. Jennings compared to Mr. Miller indicate the verdict delivered upon Mr. Jennings was impacted by his race. Furthermore, mock juror's race and the fairness in the verdicts delivered upon Mr. Jennings indicate BSE, F(2,107) = 3.860, p = .052. No BSE was present between Mr. Miller's verdict and mock juror's race however a guilt bias was present.

Discussion

The Black Sheep Effect (BSE) is the concept that when a member of an in-group deviates from the accepted norms, they will be stripped of their title as an in-group member and no longer accepted by the in-group (Marques, Paez, & Abrams, 1998; Burnaford, 2012). The basis of this concept is derived from the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), which studied the establishment of in-groups and how they compare themselves to out-groups. This study aimed to understand the relationship between an in-group of race (White or Black) and the decision of the in-group to accept or deny criminal deviations of one of their members. It was hypothesized that those in the same racial group would convict more members of their in-group than members of the out-group. Although there was no evidence to support the hypothesis between White mock jurors exhibiting BSE in concerns to White defendants, a strong guilt bias associated with delivering a verdict upon a member of their own race was found. Consistent with previous research, the BSE was found between more Black mock jurors (in-group members) placing a guilty verdict upon Black defendants (black sheep) (Marques et al., 1998; Santuzzi & Ruscher, 2006). A strong guilt bias was also found among Black mock jurors delivering a verdict upon a member of their own race. This finding is consistent with Kerr et al. (1995) in that individuals of the same race assigned a guilty verdict or harsher verdict to the defendant. It is also consistent with prior research by Levinson, Cai, and Young (2010), which discovered undergraduate and graduate participants at the University of Hawaii associated Black with being guilty. The location of this research indicates that placement around the country is not an indicator for the perception individuals will have towards Blacks. However, it contradicts research performed by Taylor and Hosch (2004) which studied the verdicts of Hispanics and Anglos and discovered no BSE present.

The perception of fairness led to a verdict by the mock jurors. Race did not predict anything for fairness as all ratings for fairness were analogous and high in a relative manner, however, mock jurors believed themselves to be fair even though they viewed the defendants as more guilty. Regardless of race, an automatic guilt bias was associated with the defendant.

Further analysis allowed for implicit bias to become evident concerning verdicts placed upon Mr. Jennings. These unfair verdicts compared to Mr. Miller (Table 7 & 8), demonstrate that race impact's court decisions of Black individuals.

Overall, mock jurors demonstrated high levels of confidence and fairness in their verdicts. This indicates mock jurors did not find their verdicts unfair against another member of their in-group, even though results show more Black mock jurors found Mr. Jennings guilty as opposed to White mock jurors. Black mock juror's high levels of confidence are reinforced by their biased perception of trying to protect their in-group, thereby labeling the defendant as a black sheep. A large majority of White mock jurors found Mr. Miller guilty which indicated a strong guilt bias. Their high levels of fairness for another member of their in-group indicate their biased perception for their own members. Their high levels of confidence indicate their desire to protect the norms associated with their in-group, thereby associating the defendant with guilt. High levels of confidence and fairness were present for verdicts delivered by Blacks to Mr. Miller and Whites to Mr. Jennings, because their deviations do not affect the in-group of those mock jurors. Nevertheless, defendants will always be confident in their verdict.

Limitations and Future Directions

A lack of differences between the vignettes presented to participants in the study posed a limitation to this study. They possessed similarity to ensure the presence of fairness, however participants might have deferred to the photograph of the individual to influence their decision

after noticing the similarity of the vignettes. To improve this study, vignettes should possess the same magnitude but differ in context to account for participants and the decision they have to make from the readings. Furthermore, more similarities should be conveyed in an implicit manner between the participant and the study. Bridging more similarities such as ethnicity, skin tone, gender, occupation, family, location etc., will create a more specific in-group, which, in accordance with Santuzzi and Ruscher (2006), will increase the likelihood of the BSE occurring.

This research will aid those in the legal system in concerns to automatic judgments jurors make concerning the defendant before evidence has been presented. The automatic perception of guilt or need to disassociate with the defendant due to the image of the in-group, can lead to an unfair trial that assigns a disproportionate sentence or unfair verdict upon the defendant.

Although implicit biases are difficult to detect, the knowledge of their presence and affect in the courtroom should be noted. Further research should study the effects of the skin tone of Black defendants and how verdicts and sentences differ for lighter skinned Blacks and darker skinned Blacks. This research is also beneficial to social psychologists and those who study interactions between individuals and groups of individuals. The understanding that in-groups can be formed on the general existence of race and that its presence can dictate a verdict, is noteworthy.

This study supports research concerning the presence of BSE. Analysis supported the presence of the BSE among Black mock jurors and a strong guilt bias present among White jurors. These findings confirm the concept that if an in-group member deviates from the accepted norms of the in-group, then the consequence will be disassociation by the present in-group members. These results can be applied to multiple disciplines such as law, social psychology, and any disciplines that concern the relationships of individuals.

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Table 1

Convictions of Mark Miller by White Mock Jurors

| Participant Race | Verdict | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---------------------|------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| White | Guilty | 53 | 77.9 | 77.9 | 77.9 |
| | Not Guilty | 15 | 22.1 | 22.1 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 68 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Table 2

Convictions of Mark Miller by Black Mock Jurors

| Participant Race | Verdict | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---------------------|------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Black | Guilty | 39 | 86.7 | 86.7 | 86.7 |
| | Not Guilty | 6 | 13.3 | 13.3 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 45 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Table 3

Convictions of Deshaun Jennings by White Mock Jurors

| Participant Race | Verdict | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---------------------|------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| White | Guilty | 48 | 70.6 | 70.6 | 70.6 |
| | Not Guilty | 20 | 29.4 | 29.4 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 68 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 2.1736-4 0.988 |

Table 4

Convictions of Deshaun Jennings by Black Mock Jurors

| Participant Race | Verdict | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---------------------|------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Black | Guilty | 37 | 82.2 | 82.2 | 82.2 |
| | Not Guilty | 8 | 17.8 | 17.8 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 45 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Table 5

Logistic Regression of Jury Verdict of Mark Miller based on Mock Juror Race

| Model | Deviance | AIC | BIC | df | X^2 | p | McFadden R ² | Nagelkerke R ² | Tjur R ² |
|----------------|----------|---------|---------|-----|--------|--------|-------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| H ₀ | 107.68 | 109.680 | 112.390 | 110 | | | | | |
| H_1 | 88.49 | 96.490 | 107.328 | 107 | 19.190 | < .001 | 0.178 | 0.256 | 0.000 |

Table 6

Logistic Regression of Jury Verdict of Deshaun Jennings based on Mock Juror Race

| Mode | Deviance | AIC | BIC | df | X ² | p | McFadden R ² | Nagelkerke R ² | Tjur R ² |
|------------------|----------|---------|---------|-----|----------------|-----------|----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| $\overline{H_0}$ | 125.4 | 127.385 | 130.094 | 110 | ne skild l | le topo e | househiel by th | ne victor by n | |
| H_1 | 115.7 | 123.656 | 134.494 | 107 | 9.728 | 0.021 | 0.078 | 0.124 | 0.000 |

Table 7

ANOVA of Mock Juror Races' Interaction with Verdict Delivered Upon Mark Miller

| Cases | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | p |
|--|----------------|-----|-------------|---------------|---------|
| Verdict of Mr. Miller | 26.706 | 1 | 26.706 | 17.366 | < .001 |
| Participant Race | 0.237 | 1 | 0.237 | 0.154 | 0.695 |
| Mr. Miller's Verdict and Participant Race | 3.345e -4 | 1 | 3.345e -4 | 2.175e -4 | 0.988 |
| Residual | 164.551 | 107 | 1.538 | acomposite ca | med the |

Table 8

ANOVA of Mock Juror Races' Interaction with Verdict Delivered Upon Deshaun Jennings

| J | | | 1 | | |
|---|----------------|-----|-------------|-------|-------|
| Cases | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | p |
| Verdict of Mr. Jennings | 7.230 | 1 | 7.230 | 3.860 | 0.052 |
| Participant Race | 1.902 | 1 | 1.902 | 1.015 | 0.316 |
| Mr. Jennings's Verdict and Participant Race | 6.410 | 1 | 6.410 | 3.422 | 0.067 |
| Residual | 200.406 | 107 | 1.873 | | |

Appendix A

Vignette #1

THE STATE OF GEORGIA

V.

MARK MILLER

Police and medical personnel were summoned to the location of local establishment at 12:45 AM on the 14th of September, 2015. Mr. Mark Miller was arrested due to an assault that resulted in a broken jawbone. Mr. Miller claims that he was provoked by the victim by an argument that was caused by the victim bumping into him which knocked a plate out of his hand. The argument escalated to assault on the victim. The altercation was stopped by security staff and the owner called the police. Three witnesses were interviewed by police officers at the scene (interview reports are below). Mr. Miller was taken into custody and charged with assault.

Police Interview with witness 1

"I saw the two men start to argue. There was some shoving and they started yelling at each other. Then I saw one guy hit the other in the face. He fell down and the bouncers grabbed the guy who threw the punch."

Police Interview with witness 2

"I don't know what happened, all I saw was the guy that got hit stagger into the other guy and they started to argue. They started to shove each other and one of them just freaked out and hit the other in the face. Then the bouncers ran in and separated them. I guess someone called the cops."

Police Interview with witness 3

"I was sitting near by when it started. Every thing was cool then these guys started arguing and shoving each other, then one hit the other and the guy fell down. The bouncers were all over it and separated the two."

Defense Attorney:

Mr. Miller is an upstanding citizen. He has no prior record. He has a family that he loves and a job that he has been with for eighteen years. Mr. Miller was solely standing his ground. He perceived the act of the other gentleman as an act of violence. Therefore he was acting in self-defense.

Prosecuting Attorney:

Mr. Miller assaulted another person in a violent response to a relatively innocuous argument. The defendant's actions went beyond what would be considered reasonable in these circumstances. He should not be given a pass for violent or aggressive behavior.



Vignette #2

THE STATE OF GEORGIA

V.

DESHAUN JENNINGS

Police and medical personnel were summoned to the location of local establishment at 11:30 PM on the 8th of June, 2011. Mr. Deshaun Jennings was arrested due to an assault that resulted in a broken nose. Mr. Jennings claims that he was provoked by the victim by an argument that was caused by the victim bumping into him which knocked a drink out of his hand. The argument escalated to assault on the victim. The altercation was stopped by security staff and the owner called the police. Three witnesses were interviewed by police officers at the scene (interview reports are below). Mr. Jennings was taken into custody and charged with assault.

Police Interview with witness 1

"I saw the two men start to argue. There was some shoving and they started yelling at each other. Then I saw one guy hit the other in the face. He fell down and the bouncers grabbed the guy who threw the punch."

Police Interview with witness 2

"I don't know what happened, all I saw was the guy that got hit stagger into the other guy and they started to argue. They started to shove each other and one of them just freaked out and hit the other in the face. Then the bouncers ran in and separated them. I guess someone called the cops."

Police Interview with witness 3

"I was sitting near by when it started. Every thing was cool then these guys started arguing and shoving each other, then one hit the other and the guy fell down. The bouncers were all over it and separated the two."

Defense Attorney:

Mr. Jennings is an upstanding citizen. He has no prior record. He has a family that he loves and a job that he has been with for fifteen years. Mr. Jennings was solely standing his ground. He perceived the act of the other gentleman as an act of violence. Therefore he was acting in self-defense.

Prosecuting Attorney:

Mr. Jennings assaulted another person in a violent response to a relatively innocuous argument. The defendant's actions went beyond what would be considered reasonable in these circumstances. He should not be given a pass for violent or aggressive behavior.



BLACK SHEEP EFFECT ON JUROR VERDICTS

By

Maryah E. Thompson

A Thesis Submitted to the

HONORS COLLEGE

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Honors in the Degree of

BACHELOR OF SCIENCE
PSYCHOLOGY
COLLEGE OF LETTERS & SCIENCES

| Thesis Advisor | At I Smit | Date | 4-23-18 |
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